1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Internal transit dues.

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... Re.1.
On every camel man[1] ... ... As.2.

Shibam.

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... $\frac{1}{2}$.
On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... $1\frac{1}{4}$.

Passport Fees (compulsory).

On every passport Rs.2
Photograph by state photographer Rs.3

Defence.

Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the [illegible]ce and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 623 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

619
101
438

TRIBES CONNECTED WITH THE 'AWALIQ.

Tribe.	Clan.	Places.
Al Bureik	Al Bin Bureik Al Nabáhín	Shabwa.
Al Karab	—	The neighbourhood of Rakhan and further to the west.
Al Hammám ...	—	The desert of Nisab.

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Al Bureik and the Al Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Al Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Al Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Al Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has " B " 4 agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

619
101
631

THE HADHRAMI YAFA'IS AND THEIR SECTIONS.

Clan.	Section.	Places.	Nos.
Al Dhubi ...	Al al Bakri	Zarqina and Bá Bakr	25
	Bin Dáfel and Al 'Afif	Hussín	25
	Al al Hadhárim	As Sáha	20
	Al Qu'aita	Al 'Iqad	75
Al Mamata	Al 'Alí al Háj	As Sáha	60
	Al al Hadádin	Hadha and Al Ghalta	20
	Al al Jaháwira	..s Sáha	20
	Al sub Sheikh 'Alí Al 'Ab bin Ahmed.	'Ardh Masrúr	60
	Al sub Sheikh 'Alí Al Salim bin 'Alí.	Hawsila	30
	Bin 'Alí Jábir.	Khashkimir	80
		Al Fardh	100
Beni 'Ardh		Hautat Jábir	15
Al Rashíd ...	—	Bukria	15
Al an Nuzabí	—	Al 'Anfa	20
Al al Madhahima ...	—	Al 'Uqda	20
Al Beni Naqíb ...	—	Daqiqa	35
Al Ahmed ...	—	Al Khartiba	20
Al Ana'd ...	—	Hassan	25
Al Jaberi ...	—	Jiffera	30
Al Bal'ala ...	—		775

[712 701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Al

1 [See page 92, sotesoria 116 - - Hadhrat]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

Vital Statistics.

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

	Zanzibar Island.	*Pemba Island.*
Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter	1,313	1,333
Districts	151	
	1,464	1,333
Total for Protectorate	2,797	

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

Telegrams G-5 (1934-38)1945 MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1] Except the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of these were enlisted in a new Military Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Glubb, said in order not to have to use it). In our area we owe a great deal to the R.A.F.: much of the improved security in the Hadhramaut is due to the presence of an R.A.F. station near Mukalla and to the new local forces. The R.A.F. have been particularly good in political work as opposed to punitive work. Not only have they shown the flag regularly, taken the sick to hospital, carried doctors about and, lately, provided a whole flight for the exclusive work of flying grain to famine areas, but in peace-time they have often made friendly social contacts and given and taken hospitality in a spirit which has made them very welcome visitors. I am sure that friendly social intercourse between garrisons abroad and the local population in peace-time, when there is time for it, goes a long way to reduce the possible need for armed intervention. I am not sure how far such contacts are officially encouraged but perhaps more could be done in that way.

My conclusions are:

(1) There is a type of backward territory in the Middle East in which for reasons of climate, soil, nature of population and politics, colonial administration in the usual sense of the word is inapplicable.

(2) That neither of the systems of colonial administration known as direct rule and indirect rule are suitable in such countries as these. Even in indirect rule the person who has the final authority and responsibility in a country is the Governor and under him his provincial and district commissioners. In Arab countries final responsibility must rest with the ruler and his Government, and the adviser must draw his authority from them. The responsibility of the Government supplying the adviser ends with providing the best officer available and withdrawing him if he is not suitable.

(3) That the best way of dealing with these territories is by a system of loose political control and/or advice which is neither direct nor indirect rule nor complete abstention.

(4) That you cannot expect people to act responsibly if you do not give them full responsibility. In countries that are as hard as the Hadhramaut and have as few economic resources, the only hope of salvation lies in the people being kept fit to look after themselves.

(5) That foreigners, working as advisers or political officers concerned with the internal affairs of countries which are suspicious of external interference and are independently minded, must work and live as part of the people and consider things from the point of view of the people. They can be sure that by serving the interests of those among whom they work in this way they are also best serving the interests of their own country. A political officer must be able to interpret the people among whom he is working to his own Government and also be able to interpret his own Government to the people. The first requirement is often the more difficult.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

9: Ingrams G-4 (1936-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government, and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

10: Hutchison U-3 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

10: Hutchison U-2 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33*s*.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal
Tendency to fire high.

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more complicated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more competent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article.

18:Ingrams G-S (1934-36);1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which

18-Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Masella on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first serial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000

'Azzan, capital of the sultanate of Balhaf

The 'aqaba for motors at Tarim

• 701

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

IR:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000 coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

311 At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small
361 islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*,
000 clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side.
344 At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

721 Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahil, held by the Al
722 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and so we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr
497 said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Ber and under the two mountains called Thalwein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 30 or 60 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kāthirī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had no objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, I. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla*.[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate of the city.

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the YAfi' tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *salṭa* in the Āl Kathīr region.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishā*[1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers[2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani.[3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sābānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

[1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut*, *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, II. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ʿAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiʿ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeʿēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiʿ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ʿAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Diyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōʿan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qe'ēṭi Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qe'ēṭis are the source of their power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qe'ēṭi consist, in peace time, of 5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan 'Alī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, 622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ʿAlī el-Djaʿdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one

34:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land.

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar.

4. THE TOWN OF 'AMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ᶜAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ᶜAmd, Shēkh ᶜAwaḍ bin Saᶜūd bin Shamlān el-Djaᶜdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaᶜdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ᶜAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat

to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 9000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidat*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chiefainship is hereditary. In the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shaqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qabaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary askars, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See Category 11b, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

4.Serjeant U-2(no date)1962 MLI Yemen MLI
Hadhramaut MMB

A
● 701
714
302
713
702

sacs in kind—perhaps corn or an annual gift of cloth—though their pay is more often than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no uniform apart from the indigo-dyed *futahs* (kilts) and turban and a coating of indigo over the body which is supposed to keep out the cold, but their rifles are supplied by the Sultans and so many rounds of ammunition per annum. They have no military training except where partially controlled by Aden.

Y
634
643
651
433
461
178

The same system obtains in the independent Arab state of the Yemen, except that, instead of petty Sultans, there are governors of districts owing allegiance, at least in theory, to the Imam. Taxation in the Yemen is perhaps more irksome on the peasant than in the Aden Protectorate and a 10 per cent tax is exacted from every Yemeni bringing back money to his native village. In the interior of this part of Arabia enterprise is only too often stamped out by the Sultans who crush all attempts at betterment, or new concerns, by uneconomic taxation. It is to this that we must attribute the decay of trade and agriculture in Arab countries such as Palestine and Iraq and not to lack of initiative on the part of the Arab himself. One has only to see the great terrace systems of the Yemen to be assured of the potentiality of Arab enterprise.

Y
438
439
366
[865]

Most towns of any size have a market on a fixed day of the week, often a Thursday (*Suq al-Khamis*), when those who wish to buy or sell flock to the little town. The country people bring grain, fruit and vegetables, sheep, goats and cattle, and the beautiful woollen carpet-strips woven by the women. The Sultan usually has a market tax of 10 per cent on sales. Here the countryman can buy Japanese enamel-ware, German lamps, Turkish or Indian matches, kerosene, old beer bottles from the messes in Aden, etc. Cotton futahs from Japan, or the fine Javanese sarongs which may have been imported as early as A.D. 1500 are displayed along with local weaves. It is a curious thing that these Japanese futahs are made in a number of different patterns, of which certain kinds seem to be preferred by individual tribes, though there seems to be no fixed rule.

Y
859
000

From the East Indies come tea and the spices, ginger and cardamom. Tea is the more fashionable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the more commonly. The peasant can buy the

Text continued on p. 70 (B)

69 (B)

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21
714
411
701

Facing P.38 (A)

A SOLDIER OF THE ADEN TRIBAL GUARDS

5;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to restore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Manasb of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MMI

619 622 701 625 619 634 [643] 361

has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Musaimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDNALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Su'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

Printed in Great Britain under the authority of H.M. Stationery Office by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London. Wt. 3614

G.Gt. Brit . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

000 camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

Government Guards

712 Government Guard garrisons have been maintained at Jihaf, Dhala, El Eqla, and Safra in the territory of the Amirate, at Ahwar and Al Ugma in Lower Aulaqui country, at Ba Teis, El Husn and Ja'ar in Abyan, at Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita in Dathina, and at Al A'in, A'Sailan, El Kara', Beihan Es Suq in Beihan territory. In Subeihi country, the garrisons were withdrawn from Tor-el-Baha, Am Fursha and Am Rija, and forces of the Abdali Sultanate now control this area. In August, 1948, after operations against the Saqladi Sheikh, ruler of the territory of Shaib, a Government Guard Post was established at Awabil, capital of the Shaib States.

Tribal Guards

Progress has been made in the re-arming and training of Tribal Guard Units. Forces have now been raised in Dathina, Shaib and Audhali country in addition to existing forces in Beihan, Lower Aulaqi, Fadhli, Amiri, Mafiahi and Lower Yafa States.

The local States also employ Tribal Guards, generally recruited from within the State to garrison outposts of the country. Increased reliance on them is being shown and the States are increasing their annual contributions towards the maintenance of the Tribal Guards. The authorised strength of this force is as follows:

Abdali (Lahej Trained Forces)	379
Fadhli Tribal Guards	57
L. Yafa'i Tribal Guards	30
L. Aulaqi Tribal Guards	41
Haushabi	29
Amiri	75
Dathina	22
Beihan	40
Audhali	30
Mafiahi	25
Shaibi	31

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the States themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion continued to do well in its security role.

G.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

MAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

S.Gr. Brit., Colonial Office G-S (1951-[illegible])1954 MAfi Aden

HOSPITALS AND HEALTH UNITS

Place	Hospitals (Beds) Built	Hospitals (Beds) Building	Health Units Built	Health Units Building	Total Beds
Less developed areas in Western Protectorate	—	1 (30) Labej	15	—	30
Fadhli-Lower Yafa'i States	—	1 (30) Makhzan	5	2	30
Qu'aiti State	2 Mukalla (50) Shibam (30)	—	18	—	80
Kathiri State	1 (10) Saf'un	—	8 (rented houses)	—	10
Wahidi States	—	1 (30) Meifa'ah	3	—	30
Non-Government	1 (10) Tarim	—	2	—	10
TOTALS	4	3	51	2	190

Chapter 8: Justice, Prisons and Security Forces

JUSTICE

The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (a) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (b) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

PRISONS

There is no recognised prison service in the Western Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

In the Eastern Protectorate, prison services are maintained by the Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi States.

SECURITY FORCES

Western Protectorate

Government Guards

This is the main security force. It is maintained by Her Majesty's Government and its present establishment is as follows:

British Officers	Arab Officers	N.C.O.s	Guards	W/T Staff	M/T Staff	Tradesmen etc.	Total
5	14	67	371	25	17	42	541

Detachments were maintained in five tribal districts throughout 1951—Dhala, Beihan, Dathina, Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, and Abyan—in support of the security forces employed by local administrations and, in addition, new posts were opened in the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden Hadhramaut MM2

701 at the request of the Sheikh. Before entering this Sheikhdom in September, 1951, a force of two British officers and 80 Arab other ranks, assisted by local tribesmen, constructed a road suitable for motor transport which facilitated their entry into the country. Five posts were later established one of which was in the Khalifi tribal area.

Routine duties such as escorting Government officials visiting the Protectorate and operating against hostile tribesmen in support of local administrations were performed throughout the period.

Apart from a superficial wound received by an n.c.o. in a skirmish with hostile tribesmen in the Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, no casualties were suffered during the two years.

A wireless telegraphy communications system was maintained with 13 stations established in the Western Protectorate.

702 Training was given in foot and rifle drill, and musketry courses for rifle and light machine gun were held as circumstances permitted.

Recruitment was satisfactory during the period and the force was kept up to full strength.

Tribal Guards

701 Further progress has been made in re-arming and training Tribal Forces. Contributions from the States towards the cost of their maintenance have been increased and five forces are now entirely supported by local revenue, one is partially dependent and the rest are wholly dependent on grants from Her Majesty's Government. The authorised strength of the Forces is as follows :

Lahej Trained Forces (Abdali)*	196
Fadhli Tribal Guards*	120
Lower Yafa'i Tribal Guards*	70
Lower Aulaqi Tribal Guards	40
Haushabi Tribal Guards	29
Amiri Tribal Guards	75
Dathina Tribal Guards*	46
Beihan Tribal Guards	70
Audhali Tribal Guards*	53
Mafiahi Tribal Guards	25
Shaib Tribal Guards	30
Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom	30

* Entirely supported by the State.

Eastern Protectorate

Two security forces are maintained :

Unit	*Establishment*	*Function*
Hadhrami Beduin Legion (paid by Her Majesty's Government)	11 Officers 355 other ranks	Maintenance of security throughout Protectorate, manning of frontier posts, political laison with Beduin.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-8 (1951-52)1954 MMI Adm
Hadhramaut MH2

Mukalla Regular Army (paid by Qu'aiti State)	17 Officers 332 other ranks	Security in the Qu'aiti State.

In addition there are the following police forces.

State	*Force*	*Establishment*	*Notes*
Qu'aiti	Mukalla Police	101	Paid by Qu'aiti State.
	Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary	530	Paid by Qu'aiti State for rural districts.
Kathiri	Civil Police	25	For towns of Sai'un, Tarim and Hautat Ahmed bin Zain. Paid by Kathiri State.
	Kathiri Armed Constabulary	112	For rural districts. 18 paid by Kathiri State, balance by Her Majesty's Government.
Wahidi	Wahidi Tribal Guards	232	These carry out police duties, in addition to garrison and security roles. 93 paid by Wahidi States, remainder by Her Majesty's Government.

Chapter 9: Public Utilities and Public Works

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

There are small electric power plants run by the Lahej Sultanate for a few domestic consumers and by the Abyan Board for its own domestic and workshop requirements.

There are no gas installations or public water supplies other than the irrigation projects described in Chapter 6.

There are organised Public Works Departments in the Lahej and Fadhli States which are mainly occupied in the maintenance and construction of public buildings and roads.

EASTERN PROTECTORATE

There is a small power-house in Mukalla publicly administered and owned. The voltage is 240 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, A.C., driven by three engines with a capacity of 49, 110 and 220 B.H.P. respectively. The total number of consumers is 700 and the annual output is 114,268 units.

Public Works Departments exist in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States.

H.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MMI

648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
• 701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate ; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361
[643]

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

'ABDALI	: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.
'AMIRI	: Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.
FADHLI	: Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.
LOWER YAFA'I	: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.
HAUSHABI	: Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.
UPPER YAFA'I	: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

30: Gt. Britain G-S (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

and wears the tribal pattern. The Sultan himself, and the senior members of his house, when on duty or attending public functions, wear swords of scimitar design for cutting only, with a very small hilt and inadequate guard. The scabbard, of red morocco leather mounted in silver, is slung by a loop of silken cord over the left shoulder. The 'Naqībs' (governors), when representing the Sultan, also carry swords, but they are none of them, as a rule, good swordsmen. Some of the more civilized potentates on the littoral carry pistols or revolvers as well.

Working down through the Sultan's household we come to the *askaris*, or hereditary retainers (this term is also applied to tribesmen when serving as a permanent detachment). The hereditary class does not as a rule provide good combatants, for all their males are enrolled in the ranks automatically—regardless of physique or fitness—on attaining puberty, and serve till too decrepit to get about. Being looked on as servants rather than soldiers, they are not adapted to the rigours of campaigning, nor do they practise much with firearms, which are the property of the Sultan. They are, in fact, chiefly engaged on police duty and the enforcement of bazaar taxes. With them may be classed the *abid* or slaves—the most consistently faithful dependants of any Sultanate. They are armed like the *askaris*, but occasionally carry a scabbardless *nimshah*—a straight, single-edged blade, round-pointed and heavy-backed, with a plain unguarded hilt like the handle of an ordinary knife. Slaves do not wear the *jambiyah*. The askari's *jambiyah* is his own property. Both *askaris* and slaves are partly armed with matchlocks or rifles, according to the resources of the Sultan's arsenal; and the less efficient and junior members of the corps carry spears.

The *jambiyah* has been fully described elsewhere (p. 153 f.). Spear-heads are long and narrow, of privet-leaf shape, fashioned of soft steel, with sharp edges and point, but no barb, the hafts varying from five to six feet in length. Lances, used by cavalry, have shorter heads than spears, and stouter hafts, about seven feet in length, gripped overhand. Matchlock guns are rapidly becoming obsolete and are being replaced by the breech-loader, the most common pattern being the Graz rifle or carbine. Remingtons, Turkish Martinis, and a few other patterns are occasionally seen. Practically all the Subeihi have breech-loaders, and the Quteibi and Haushabi are well provided with them. As time goes on the Arab will, generally, thanks to his better armament, become a more formidable foe. Ammunition for the breech-loader is not very plentiful, and native reloading and recapping have not, as yet, proved very successful.

30: Gt. Britain Gen (ca 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly √09 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: 651 the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax, octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under 625 a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

•701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under 651 all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

30: Gt. Britain G-8 (ca. 1918) 1920 M11 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the 101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamimi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries [643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of 361 Socotra, lives at **Qishn**, a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt**, situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which 619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews. 361 The chief towns are **Habbān**, with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hantah**, 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah**, with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

• 701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathīri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.